1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

603
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

●605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:

Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" he takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married. Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There [604] is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

605
534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavusei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

593
565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuko-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

● 605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy,
837 there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced.

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

> A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau*.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

Veitathini is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*. A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom.

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb.

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck."

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan.